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# THE PRICE OF THE RED FEATHER

## A STORY OF ARMAMENTS

By MONTAVILLE FLOWERS

WHAT influences have made the armaments of our time so enormous, so complex, so terribly efficient? They are grounded deep in the materialism of our age. Despite all our churches and schools and clubs and uplift societies, the one outstanding fact is: In our time men and women love money and what money buys. This commercial spirit, this material self-interest, is so well understood that political writers lay down this fundamental proposition: Business interests determine the political ideas of individuals, of communities, and of nations.

Let us take Great Britain as an illustration, and suppose a bill is before the House of Commons to increase the navy by building new dreadnaughts. There are two sets of business influences acting on that vote, the internal and the external. Let us examine the internal first.

All those members who themselves are interested in the war industries will vote for the bill. Five-sixths of the naval construction of England is produced by private firms. There are hundreds of these private firms directly and indirectly interested. The capital of the twelve largest firms is \$225,000,000; the total private capital in all the naval concerns is three-quarters of a billion dollars. In 1913 the new naval construction alone, given to these firms, amounted to sixty millions of dollars.

There are members sitting in Parliament who are directly interested in those sixty millions. The assemblies of all the great nations contain men who are interested in the various business enterprises of the lands. This is proper, and always will be so. I am not one of those dreaming theorists who believe that the world is to be redeemed by putting all business men out of legislatures. The remedies are elsewhere. So in England there are members of Parliament who are shareholders in these war firms. The Armstrong-Whitworth Company has in its stockholders sixty noblemen. There are fifteen baronets, twenty knights, twenty military and naval officers, eight members of Parliament, and eight journalists; and do not forget the journalists. Philip Snowden, member of Parliament, said in March, 1914, that it would be impossible to throw a stone across Parliament without hitting a member who is a shareholder in one of these firms.

This direct interest, then, is the first finger of influence on that vote for that bill.

Second, other members are influenced by the officers and operators of these companies. Here is a startling situation, true in all European countries. Many of the chief officers and operators of war companies are men who have been high officials in the government, the army, and the navy. Every business man knows they are employed by these huge firms because of their experience, their skill, their power with the government. In the twelve leading companies referred to, there are today men who have been admirals, generals, secretaries in the cabinet, governors of provinces, and even the private

secretaries of former prime ministers. The total influence of all these men upon any vote is tremendous.

That is the second finger of influence on the bill.

Third, other members vote big war budgets because they represent constituencies whose business will be benefited.

That is the third finger, and it is a great thumb.

The word armament produces in the mind pictures of forts, cannon, ammunition, armor plate, torpedoes, mines, submarines, and dreadnaughts; but that is only the first line. Then follow all the steel and all the machinery used in construction: the motors, dynamos, telescopes, compasses, searchlights, automobiles, aircraft, and electrical apparatus, with all their accessories and tools and all the firms that make them. In March, 1914, the admiralty of England made contracts with forty-three firms under the single heading of tools. All these are the second line of interests.

Then follow clothing, chemicals, food, fuel, horses, harness, leather, medicines, surgical instruments; and beneath all these are the great fundamentals—coal, wood, iron, and copper. Thus the influences ramify among hundreds of firms, knitting together and swaying stockholders, officers, clerks, salesmen, and laborers—from the miner who picks up a lump of coal in the depths of Newcastle to the aviator who drops the finished bomb from the finished airship that flies from the finished dreadnaught plying the Dardanelles.

These are the business interests that form the political ideas and decide the votes of Parliament. Every man from top to bottom is soon alive and working for his own welfare. The bill *must* pass. The failure of the bill for the new dreadnaughts might deprive the pert daughter of a washerwoman or the wife of some dockman in Glasgow of the red feather she has picked out for her Easter bonnet.

Remember that these conditions and influences are duplicated exactly in Germany, France, Russia, Austria, and Italy.

Now take the second step in internal influences. This is the age of combination; and many of these great war firms of England, following the modern tendency, are united in one common interest in the usual way—by the cross-holding of stocks and by officers. In the fourteen largest firms, fifteen leading names appear as officers and directors. One of these names appears six times; three, four times; four, three times; and all the others, twice; the fifteen names appear forty-four times in the fourteen companies.

There you have these fingers of influence organized into a giant hand, which holds the empire of Great Britain at the end of the military arm.

Both hand and arm are duplicated in Germany, France, Russia, Austria, and Italy.

What is the body? It is the huge bulk where all these military arms of all these countries join together with the great bankers and financiers of the empires. Do these private navy yards and cannon factories of all of

these hating nations actually join in a real operation to promote their common business? Does this international crime exist?

In March, 1913, the German Reichstag exposed the existence of a war trust composed of German, Austrian, and Belgian firms for the sale of repeating rifles in Russia, China, and other countries. They discovered that officials of their war department had been bribed by a member of that trust—the Krupp Gun Company. These officials were arrested and tried. Some were found guilty, some dismissed, and some imprisoned. Among those imprisoned was the secretary to the German Minister of War.

The German Weapon and Munitions Company of Dresden, making guns for Germany, holds leading shares in three French companies in Paris, thus stimulating France to build great armaments to match Germany.

The Noble Dynamite Company of England has fourteen directors, eight of them Englishmen and six of them German. They hold the majority of stock of four companies in England now working night and day to make dynamite with which Englishmen are to blow Germans to atoms; and they own large interests in four companies in Germany now working day and night to make dynamite with which Germans are to blow Englishmen to atoms.

Finally, the Harvey United Steel Company operated from 1901 to 1912 with its capital stock held as follows:

10,000 shares were held in six English war companies.  
12,000 shares were held in five French war companies.  
7,500 shares were held in two German firms, one of them Krupp.  
8,000 shares were held by an Italian firm.  
4,301 shares were held by an American firm.  
6,000 shares were held by an English banker.  
3,000 shares were held by a French banker.  
300 shares were held by a German banker.

Each of these eighteen firms and banks was represented in the management by one or more directors, who sat in council to push the general business of all. That is the outside influence on every vote, on every war bill, in every nation of the world! That is the body of the Beast of War!

In times of peace, when men were singing in the fields, it raised the war scare. Each arm in turn held high its hand full of ships and guns and men. Then each other arm at once took into its hand more ships and guns and men. Thus for forty years the Beast played before the very eyes of us all—until its huge arms lay black and fearful across all the nations of Europe.

Then one day the Beast went mad. With one frightful claw unsheathed far into the breast of Germany, another sunk deep into the heart of France; with one tearing the vitals from Great Britain, another choking the throat of struggling Austria; with one ripping the body of giant Russia, another grinding the face of tiny Belgium—the War Beast now roars with glee as it smashes the nations together in earth and sea and sky.

If there be no death for this Beast, there is no hope for civilization. There is a death. The governments can purge the earth of this evil if each will take over in its own land every shop that makes a war gun and every dock that builds a warship; and then will reduce its armaments to the sensible needs of the nation, not again to be swollen and controlled by the money-lust of men.

When this war ends, as some day it must end, and the councilors gather together, as some day they must gather, to lay down the principles of peace, the first suggestion will be to reduce and regulate armaments. The Krupps will be there from Germany, the Creuseots will be there from France, and the Armstrongs and Whitworths will be there from England to protect—what? Their private business interests! Now, if nations are civilized, private interests will have no hearing. No matter how many factories may stand idle forever; no matter how many men must readjust themselves anew to life; no matter how great the economic losses may seem to be, these considerations can never measure against making an end of war. The cost of the first year of this war would have bought every share of stock of every great war factory in the world and indemnified every laborer for his idleness for the remainder of his life.

When this war is over there will have been left slaughtered and horribly buried upon the battlefields and under the seas of Europe; broken, distorted, and unrecognizable in the hospitals of Europe; wild and raging in the asylums of Europe, more young men than have lived by war works since war works began. That is an economic loss beyond redemption; that is a human sacrifice beyond atonement!

Is the moral force of our civilization equal to this moral task? Will the money-love of men again prevail? Or will the cause of the common welfare of the race rise triumphant? The answers to these questions will measure the hope of the new peace.

Are mothers to give the babies from their breasts, fathers the sons from their sides, forever, for the red feathers these war works enable them to wear?

## MILITARY TRAINING IN SCHOOLS: TWELVE OBJECTIONS

By ROBERT CROMWELL ROOT

1. The school courses are already too full; therefore no other course should be added. This objection is sustained by Prof. John Dewey, of Columbia University, one of America's highest educational authorities.

2. Military training has not enough educational value to replace any subject that rightfully belongs in the school courses of study. This objection is upheld by Prof. John Dewey; President Henry Churchill King, of Oberlin College; ex-President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard University; ex-Governor Charles E. Hughes, now of the United States Supreme Court, and Gen. John W. Foster, ex-Secretary of State.

3. The supposed benefits of military training can be secured more effectively by other means: the gymnasium and outdoor games and athletics. This statement is supported by such expert testimony as that of Dr. Dudley Sargent, head of the Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University; ex-President Eliot; Professor Reichart, of the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Nathan C. Schaeffer, State Superintendent of Schools of Pennsylvania, and by Prof. Charles Zueblin, President King, Professor Dewey, Prof. Samuel T. Dutton, of Teachers' College, Columbia University. Moreover, the supposed benefits of military drill are due not to the system, but to the personality of the particular instructors.

4. The regulations generally, if not invariably, used